DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 021 941 UD 006 756

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PUERTO RICAN MIGRANTS ON THE MAINLAND OF THE UNITED STATES.

Yeshiva Univ., New York, N.Y. ERIC Clearinghouse for Urban Disadvantaged.
Pub Date Jan 68
Note- 12p.
Journal Cit- IRCD Bulletin; v4 n1 Jan 1968
EDRS Price MF-$0.25 HC-$0.56
Descriptors- ACCULTURATION, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHIES, BOOK REVIEWS, CHILD REARING, CULTURAL TRAITS, DATA, DEMOGRAPHY, ECONOMIC DISADVANTAGEMENT, FAMILY (SOCIOLOGICAL UNIT), *FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS, IMMIGRANTS, *INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS, *LITERATURE REVIEWS, MIGRATION PATTERNS, *PUERTO RICANS, RESEARCH METHODOLOGY, RESEARCH REVIEWS (PUBLICATIONS), STUDENT CHARACTERISTICS, SUBCULTURE, URBAN AREAS, *URBAN IMMIGRATION
Identifiers- New York City, Puerto Rico, San Juan

This bulletin on the Puerto Rican migrant consists primarily of (1) a review of research which examines the social science literature dealing with the island background of the Puerto Rican immigrant as well as his life on "La Vida" which questions whether the family described by Lewis is representative of slum dwellers in urban San Juan who migrate to the mainland. Also included in the bulletin is a brief review of Piri Thomas' "Down these Mean Streets," a book which describes the experiences of a Puerto Rican youth growing up in the Spanish Harlem area of New York City. An annotated bibliography on the Puerto Rican population and a list of reviews of "La Vida" are also presented. (LB)

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IRCD BULLETIN

PUBLICATION OF THE ERIC INFORMATION RETRIEVAL CENTER ON THE DISADVANTAGED

PROJECT BEACON - FERKAUF GRADUATE SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES - 55 FIFTH AVENUE, N.Y., N.Y. 10003
YESHIVA UNIVERSITY

Volume IV, No. 1 January 1968

Puerto Rican Migrants on the Mainland of the United States

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Gertrude S. Goldberg, M.S.

In attempting to increase our knowledge of Puerto Ricans on the mainland of the United States, we are confronted with several types of potentially relevant materials. As is the case with all newcomers, there is the culture of the former home, as well as the way of life that develops in the new world. And, in view of the wealth of the American experience with migration, there is also the literature of the European immigrations to consider. This discussion of potential sources of knowledge concerning mainland Puerto Ricans will be confined to materials available in English.

In reviewing these materials, it should be noted that we are dealing with a population group larger than the nearly 900,000 persons of Puerto Rican birth and parentage on the continent according to the 1960 census,[1] for there has been considerable return migration. For example, the New York City schools received 54,750 Puerto Rican pupils from Puerto Rico between 1956 and 1961 and discharged 32,210 to Puerto Rico during the same period.[2] It has been estimated by a member of the Puerto Rico Planning Board that there were over 100,000 return migrants between 1955 and 1963.[3] Finally, although New York City is the home of about 72 percent of the migrants on the continent,[4] dispersion to other areas has begun, and only about 60 percent of the net migration since 1957 has been to New York City.[5]

The Island Background

The relevance of materials dealing with the former home depends, to a considerable extent, upon the demographic characteristics of the migrant group, particularly upon their socioeconomic status and their place of residence at the time when they migrate. For even if a society were more

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[1]Puerto Rico Department of Labor, Migration Division, *A Summary in Facts and Figures, 1964-1965: Progress in Puerto Rico—Puerto Rican Migration*, New York: The Commonwealth, p. 16.

[2]Madeline M. Morrissey and Gary Zouzoulas, *Pupil Migration in the New York City Public Schools, 1956–1957 to 1965–1966*, New York: Board of Education, 1967, pp. 8 and 15.

[3]Jose Hernandez Alvarez, *Return Migration in Puerto Rico*, Rio Piedras: Social Science Research Center, University of Puerto Rico, 1964, p. 6. Cited in Clarence Senior and Donald O. Watkins, "Toward a Balance Sheet of Puerto Rican Migration," *Status of Puerto Rico: Selected Background Studies Prepared for the United States–Puerto Rico Commission on the Status of Puerto Rico*, Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966, p. 721.

[4]This estimate is based on figures given for New York City and total mainland Puerto Rican population in 1960 in Puerto Rico Department of Labor, Migration Division, *A Summary in Facts and Figures*, pp. 16-17.

[5]Puerto Rico Department of Labor, Migration Division, *A Summary in Facts and Figures*, p. 16.

LA VIDA: WHOSE LIFE?

Gertrude S. Goldberg, M.S.
Edmund W. Gordon, Ed.D.

In her study of Italians in Greenwich Village during the 1920's, Caroline Ware observed the disinterest of the schools in the culture of the immigrants:

> **. . . the local schools were indifferent to the loyalties and customs of the Italian group and did not consider it necessary to be familiar with the ethnic background of the children in order to prepare them for their role in American life.[1]**

Today, educators are likely to maintain a very different attitude toward the "loyalties and customs" of disadvantaged groups. It is, however, by no means certain that the contemporary ethos of cultural pluralism, as it is translated into practice, is any more conducive to educating today's disadvantaged groups than the ethnocentric approach described by Ware. One finds a tendency either to assume *prima facie* that all of the poor are culturally different from the rest of us or to develop stereotyped and over-generalized notions about the culture of those who do have styles of life which deviate from the American middle class. An education which scarcely emphasizes careful study of disadvantaged population groups and a professional life which rarely permits time to offset this deficiency are some reasons why educators' mere interest in the cultures of today's poor is not in itself an advance over yesterday's disinterest.

Knowledge of the Puerto Ricans, the most recent group to migrate in large numbers to the mainland of the United States, is particularly limited. Their relatively recent arrival, insufficient emphasis on the history of Caribbean peoples throughout our educational system, and a paucity of social science materials directly relevant to the migrant population are factors which compound the barriers to understanding all disadvantaged groups.

Given these sets of conditions, it is likely that a study of Puerto Ricans by Oscar Lewis, the noted anthropologist, would be heavily consulted by practitioners. Such usage is particularly probable because his works read more like literature than most social science—an attribute by no means undesirable per se. Thus, it is the popularity of Lewis' most recent book, *La Vida: A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty—San Juan and New York*, rather than its merits

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[1]Caroline F. Ware, *Greenwich Village, 1920-1930: A Comment on American Civilization in the Post-War Years*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1935, p. 167.

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THE LITERATURE

(Continued from page 1)

static than Puerto Rico, which all observers regard as a very rapidly changing society, and if it displayed less than the considerable cultural heterogeneity of that small island, it would still be necessary to match migrants' backgrounds with available social science studies. For example, 90 percent of early postwar migrant Puerto Ricans departed from urban areas.[6] Thus, materials describing rural subcultures would be of scant applicability. And now, when nearly two-thirds[7] of the newcomers are coming directly from the rural areas, the studies of rural subcultures, several of them first-rate ethnography, lack blanket relevance, even for rural migrants. Some, like Steward's *The People of Puerto Rico*, are based on field data collected nearly 20 years ago. The life portrayed in the four lower-class subcultures studied by Steward and his associates may be comparable to that experienced by migrants from similar rural subcultures who came during the early 1950's, a time of heavy migration. (Net out-migration from Puerto Rico was over 45,000 every year between 1951 and 1956.[8]) Such materials may also describe life styles that these migrants would attempt to hold onto in their new home, but they would not by the admission of one of Steward's associates, Professor Sydney Mintz, reflect contemporary Puerto Rican subcultures. They would thus not be relevant to the way of life of rural residents who left in the late 1950's although these anthropological studies might describe cultures to which present migrants were exposed earlier in their lives.

The migrants' particular island background is especially important to know in view of the variety of subcultures on the island itself. Steward, for example, found an absence of a common culture, even among lower-class rural Puerto Ricans. Depending largely upon the economic or productive system in a particular rural or lower-class subculture, he found varying cultural patterns. Such cultural features as child rearing, male–female authority in the family, rates of consensual, civil, and religious marriages, and habits of spending and saving differed according to the productive arrangements. Thus, workers on one government owned sugar plantation displayed matrifocal patterns; those working on a privately owned sugar plantation, more equal relations between spouses; and those in one tobacco subculture, a strict patriarchal dominance. It has been maintained by Theodore Brameld, who studied islanders later but far less thoroughly, that "the growth of the welfare state tends to diminish dissimilarities and to encourage common structures, programs, and goals."[9] Mintz, on the other hand, who bases his conclusions on extensive reviews of the literature and on an admittedly brief revisit to his area of study, finds a lack of homogeneity on the island and even fewer shared values than earlier within his subculture, Cánamelar. Of the continuing absence of a common culture, Mintz writes:

> **. . . any summary statement of Puerto Rican character or identity and any attempt to describe Puerto Ricans as if their culture were homogeneous, means treading on risky grounds. . . .**[10]

> **What goes by the label of "Puerto Rican National character"—for instance, the speaking of Spanish or a sexual double standard—may not only fail to hold for everyone, but in all likelihood has very different symbolic connotations in different social segments of the national society.**[11]

The important sociological work of Tumin, *Social Class and Social Change in Puerto Rico*, emphasizes the importance of knowing the educational attainments of migrants, for this variable was found by him to be the most important predictor of attitudes and behaviors for an island-wide sample. Although Tumin was probably incorrect in the extent to which he de-emphasized the rural–urban variable, since his consideration of rural respondents as a group tended to blur the heterogeneity among the rural subcultures, his stress on the educational variable should be noted.

Despite the importance of such demographic characteristics of migrants as educational levels, former place of residence, and the time at which they migrated, these data are neither complete for the entire postwar period, nor are those available well circulated. For the early postwar years, the Columbia study, reported by Mills, Senior, and Goldsen in *The Puerto Rican Journey*, is an important source of demographic and attitudinal data, as well. Based upon field work in two core areas of Puerto Rican settlement in New York during the spring of 1948, it reflects one of the two heaviest years of net in-migration before 1950—1946 with 39,911.[12] Because it attempted to analyze motivation for migration by means of a "push" from the island and a "pull" toward the continent, its findings help to establish the extent to which the variable of migration affects the cultural allegiance of the newcomers. The findings of Mills and his associates and the more qualified inferences from later data, that the economic promise of the mainland is the main motivation for the journey, would suggest that the cultural allegiance of the migrants is not necessarily affected by the decision to migrate—although their way of life is greatly affected by the migration and the exposure to mainland subcultures.

For the years subsequent to 1948, when the vast majority of migration occurred, there are two island surveys which together provide data for the period 1957–1964, but data dealing with characteristics of migrants during the first half of the 1950's, the period with highest postwar migration, have not appeared in the works reviewed by this writer. And the data on the later arrivals are reported only in a recent article by Clarence Senior and Donald Watkins, itself poorly circulated.

In addition to the caveats concerning the matching of migrants' background and materials depicting island life, there are important problems presented by the literature itself. Related but in some ways distinct from the issues of cultural heterogeneity and societal change is a lack of consensus concerning such crucial areas of study as race relations, the meaning and motivation of consensual marriage, and the nature of the family structure. Perhaps one reason for the apparent disagreement among various observers is a failure on the part of some to specify the region, class, and subculture to which data apply or to generalize findings that apply to one segment of the island population to the Puerto Rican people as a whole.

In-Migration and Immigration

The usefulness of the extensive literature on past immigration depends upon the extent to which the characteristics and experiences of the Puerto Rican in-migrants

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[6] C. Wright Mills, Clarence Senior, and Rose Goldsen, *The Puerto Rican Journey: New York's Newest Migrants*, New York: Harper and Row, 1950, pp. 32-33. The study found that only about one-fifth of the migrants could be considered from a rural background.

[7] Senior and Watkins, "Toward a Balance Sheet," pp. 710 and 713.

[8] Puerto Rico Department of Labor, Migration Division, *A Summary in Facts and Figures*, p. 15.

[9] Theodore Brameld, *The Remaking of a Culture: Life and Education in Puerto Rico*, New York: Harper and Row, 1959, p. 359.

[10] Sidney Mintz, "Puerto Rico: An Essay in the Definition of a National Character," *Status of Puerto Rico*, p. 371.

[11] Mintz, "Puerto Rico: An Essay," p. 381.

[12] Puerto Rico Department of Labor, Migration Division, *A Summary in Facts and Figures*, p. 15.

resemble those of European immigrants of the pre-World War I period. Despite the obvious differences of citizenship status for Puerto Ricans, the relative ease of their journey, and the existence of a non-white group among them, comparisons between them and earlier newcomers are made.[13] Although this discussion concentrates on the differences between Puerto Ricans and the European immigrants as a group, we do not mean to imply that there were not many dissimilarities among the various European nationalities.

Oscar Handlin, a foremost historian of European immigration to America, has studied the migration of Puerto Ricans and Negroes to New York City since the war and has observed both similarities and dissimilarities between earlier and later newcomers. On the one hand, Handlin points out that the increase of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in the metropolitan region, almost 250 percent in little more than a quarter of a century, "is . . . a migration comparable in scope to that of the Irish and Germans between 1850 and 1860 and of the Jews and Italians, 1890–1915."[14] Handlin, more than some other scholars, appears sanguine about the Puerto Ricans' ultimate adjustment and the nature of the effort that it will take:

> **. . . the experience of the past offers a solid foundation for the belief that the newest immigrants to a great cosmopolitan city will come to play as useful a role in it as any of their predecessors. They themselves need only to show the will and energy, and their neighbors the tolerance to make it possible.[15]**

In contrast to the immigrants who relied heavily on independent small businesses for mobility, the present newcomers must find an alternative to the entrepreneurial route —despite what many view as substantial shopkeeping acumen among the Puerto Ricans. The Puerto Ricans must depend much more upon the school system for upward mobility than their predecessors, for they will need the formal education to "break into the developing complex of positions as professional, managerial, or clerical employees and fee receivers."[16] *The Puerto Rican Study: 1953–1957* of New York City schools concluded that:

> **. . . judging from the gains made by the second generation of Puerto Ricans in New York City schools, it would appear that the third generation should be able to compete on equal terms with their peers of like socioeconomic backgrounds.[17]**

Yet, it would seem that this period of grace available to others may need to be foreshortened for our latest arrivals.

Some observers stress the present marginality of jobs for persons with education and skill comparable to that of the majority of Puerto Rican migrants or doubt that the second generation is making sufficient progress to warrant optimism. The latter is, of course, related to one's estimate of the rapidity with which progress must be made. Handlin seems to emphasize the current availability of jobs for the undereducated and relatively unskilled despite the long-term reduction of such opportunities. Others have tended to stress their present scarcity. The longer such employment holds out, so to speak, the longer the newcomers have to prepare themselves or their children for jobs requiring higher education, but the conditions to which current earnings subject them are not conducive to educational betterment.

A report of the Puerto Rican Forum, led by young Puerto Rican professionals in New York City, commented on progress in the Puerto Rican community from the perspective of a proposal to upgrade their people. But they were also influenced in the development of these goals by what they considered to be the poverty of Puerto Rican prospects. Pointing out, first of all, that too small a percentage of the second generation had reached labor force age to make reliable predictions, they concluded:

> **. . . it is necessary to know that Puerto Ricans are not making it once they learn English; that the children born in the city of Puerto Rican parents are not becoming successful New Yorkers once they go through the city's school system; that the story of the Puerto Rican will *not* be the same as the story of groups of immigrants who came before—unless some lessons learned in the past immigrations are applied and the significant differences of the situation are recognized and worked out.[18]**

If upward mobility is to occur, however, it will most likely take place after the first generation, and one careful examination of the changing status of a group of second generation Puerto Ricans offers some grounds for optimism. Nathan Kantrowitz of the Columbia University School of Social Work examined U.S. census data for the New York Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area to determine the occupation, education, and income of persons of Puerto Rican parentage who were between 15 and 24 years of age in 1950 and between 25 and 34 years of age in 1960. Even allowing for the stringent test of comparing their achievement over the decade with that of non-Puerto Rican whites, he found that second generation Puerto Ricans were quite mobile:

> **. . . the children of Puerto Rican migrants, New York's newest and poorest people . . . in this decade have moved more rapidly than expected into the (albeit lower) white collar and High School ranks. If this decade is a prologue for improvement in their remaining lifetime and in their children's then another generation may find the ethnic Puerto Rican distributed much as the general population.[19]**

The data on Puerto Ricans as a group, who are overwhelmingly first generation, reveal current poverty and undereducation. In 1959, according to the U.S. census, 34 percent of the Puerto Rican families, in contrast to 27 percent of the non-whites and 15 percent of all families in New York City, had incomes under $3,000 a year, a frequently accepted poverty level.[20] Figures for 1963 incomes, based on a random sample of 2,118 adults in New York City of which 192 were Puerto Ricans, suggest such an extraordinary decline in the percentage of Puerto Rican families with incomes under $3,000 that one is led to question the reliability of the Puerto Rican sample. The percentage of all families and of Negro families living below that level declined by 16 percent and 12 percent, respectively, which are figures that are consistent with inflation and a rise in the standard of living. But the percentage of such Puerto Rican families declined precipitously—from 34 percent to 16

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[13]The 1960 U.S. census reported that only 26,368 or 3.9 percent of the Puerto Ricans in New York-Northeastern New Jersey area were non-white. Nathan Kantrowitz and Donnell Pappenfort, *1960 Fact Book for the New York-Northeastern New Jersey Standard Consolidated Area: The Nonwhite, Puerto Rican, and White Non-Puerto Rican Populations: Selected Characteristics for Cities of 50,000 or More*, New York: Columbia University School of Social Work, 1966, p. 19.

Demographers consider these census figures unreliable. Senior and Watkins state that censuses since 1940 have shown a declining proportion of non-white Puerto Ricans on the mainland of the United States: 11.7 percent in 1940, 9.6 percent in 1950, and 4.7 percent in 1960. It is not known whether the migration is more heavily non-white than the population of the Island (20.3 percent) or whether non-whites return in disproportionate numbers. See Senior and Watkins, "Toward a Balance Sheet," p. 709.

According to Mills, Senior, and Goldsen, *The Puerto Rican Journey*, p. 90, two-thirds of the migrants would be considered non-white by mainland standards.

[14]Oscar Handlin, *The Newcomers—Negroes and Puerto Ricans in a Changing Metropolis*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959, p. 53.

[15]Handlin, *The Newcomers*, p. 121.

[16]Handlin, *The Newcomers*, p. 76.

[17]J. Cayce Morrison, *The Puerto Rican Study: 1953-1957*, New York: Board of Education, 1958, p. 181.

[18]Puerto Rican Forum, Inc., *Puerto Rican Community Development Project: A Proposal for a Self-Help Project to Develop the Community by Strengthening the Family, Opening Opportunities for Youth, and Making Full Use of Education*, New York: The Puerto Rican Forum, Inc., 1964, p. 9.

[19]Nathan Kantrowitz, "Social Mobility of Puerto Ricans in New York, 1950–1960," 1967, p. 2 (unpublished).

[20]Kantrowitz and Pappenfort, *1960 Fact Book*, p. 31.

percent or a 52 percent decrease in four years![21] In the area of educational achievement, Frank Cordasco has pointed out that Puerto Ricans have the lowest level of formal education of any identifiable ethnic or color group in New York City.[22] Yet, these figures are not in themselves conclusive, for considerable poverty and undereducation probably characterized earlier groups at a comparable stage of contact with the new world.

To a certain extent the assessment of progress in relation to other groups may depend upon the variables observed. Father Joseph Fitzpatrick compared intermarriage of first and second generation Puerto Ricans with the comparable practices by immigrants during the period 1908–1912. He concluded that "on the basis of evidence of marriage practice, the process of assimilation to the culture of the U.S. mainland is increasing rapidly."[23] When the variable is language acquisition, organizational strength, or self-help efforts, conclusions may be different, but seldom have comparable data for earlier and later groups, as in the case of Fitzpatrick's work, been gathered. On the other hand, one wonders how a variable like intermarriage is related to economic mobility and whether it has the same meaning for all sets of newcomers.

Despite the differences in the Puerto Rican migration and the European immigrations—of which the economic opportunities appear to be paramount—there is reason to believe that some of the feelings of "the uprooted" may apply to the Puerto Rican strangers, providing that the necessary qualifications are made. These works can sensitize us to the plight of the newcomer who is alien though American and stranded, even though it is possible to return. Similarly, the stages of acculturation of the Italian immigrant—initial contact, conflict, and accommodation[24]—may have different durations and different forms, but Campisi's work, and that of others, reminds us that the time which the migrant has spent on the mainland is crucial to an understanding of his integration of old and new ways of life.

The Literature on Mainland Puerto Ricans

In view of the many limitations of materials indirectly related to mainland Puerto Ricans, one looks nearly exclusively to studies of the migrants themselves. Recommendation for such a course comes from the Puerto Rican anthropologist Elena Padilla, who has studied island subcultures and New York migrants during the 1950's: "It is not possible to speak of a Puerto Rican culture in New York, nor even to pretend to understand the culture of Puerto Ricans in New York in the light of the culture of Puerto Rico."[25] It is, thus, particularly limiting that there are a lack of careful psychological, sociological, and anthropological studies of mainland Puerto Ricans.

We have already discussed data from the two major works on patterns of migration—the early work of Mills, *et al.*, and the recent essay of Senior and Watkins which is the only up-to-date, comprehensive statement on the migration. Despite the sophistication of its approach to the subject of migration, its excellent critical bibliography, and its reference to major surveys which appear not to have been reported elsewhere in English, it has been very poorly circulated.

[21]Jack Elinson, Paul W. Haberman, and Cyrille Gell, *Ethnic and Educational Data on Adults in New York City, 1963–1964*, New York: Columbia University, School of Public Health and Administrative Medicine, 1967, p. 63. Data were given for Negroes in this survey but for non-whites in the census. Approximately 95 percent of non-whites in the census are American Negroes.

[22]Frank Cordasco, "The Puerto Rican Child in the American School," *Journal of Negro Education*, 36 (September 1967), p. 182.

[23]Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, "Intermarriage of Puerto Ricans in New York City," *American Journal of Sociology*, 71 (January 1966), p. 406.

[24]Paul J. Campisi, "Ethnic Family Patterns: The Italian Family in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology*, 53 (May 1948), pp. 443-49.

[25]Elena Padilla, *Up From Puerto Rico*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1958, p. 49.

Elena Padilla's *Up From Puerto Rico* is "the only cultural anthropological treatment of Puerto Rican migrants in New York City."[26] Field work, which was done during the mid-1950's, involved 18 months of participant observation and a long questionnaire interview of 48 Puerto Rican heads of households. Senior and Watkins warn that "in the light of the limited sample and the lack of quantified conclusions, care should be taken not to use the experience reported in this book as a basis for generalizations about all persons of Puerto Rican origin who were living in New York City in the mid-1950's."[27] Nonetheless, Padilla's work treats carefully such issues as child rearing practices, educational achievement and interaction with school authorities, the functioning of the extended family and the ritual kinship system—both of which are diluted in the American slum setting, and patterns of courtship and marriage.

A recent book by the sociologist, Patricia Cayo Sexton, treats the Puerto Rican community from a very different perspective than that of Padilla. Based upon two years of observation by the author in New York's major Puerto Rican colony, it is most useful for its description of the organizational structure of the community, its social problems, and the proclivity to social action of various ethnic groups (it is a mixed neighborhood) in the community. Problems in the area of housing and urban renewal and education are treated at some length.

Two works, Senior's *The Puerto Ricans: Strangers—then Neighbors* and the chapter on Puerto Ricans in Glazer and Moynihan's *Beyond the Melting Pot,* are useful general treatments of the migration and the migrants. Written for the Anti-Defamation League, the Senior book attempts to place the migration within the perspective of the coming of earlier strangers but at the same time presents a variety of information, particularly upon the integration and adjustment of the Puerto Ricans, including the treatment of them by the receiving community. Moynihan and Glazer summarize data collected by others and attempt to characterize the adaptation of the Puerto Ricans "to a city very different from the one to which earlier immigrant groups adapted."[28] The authors conclude that "they are being modified by the new process of adaptation in new and hardly predictable ways . . . and, one can barely imagine what kind of human community will emerge from the process of adaptation."[29]

Father Joseph Fitzpatrick, Edward Seda Bonilla, and Beatrice Berle have done useful studies of particular issues such as race relations, delinquency, intermarriage, and health and medical practices. Berle's companion study to that of Padilla, *Eighty Puerto Rican Families in New York City,* deals with health, attitudes toward illness and medical care, and use of medical resources, as well as the more general issues of adjustment. Her sample, as Senior and Watkins note, is not of the general Puerto Rican population of New York City but "of some families with problems of sickness."[30] Fitzpatrick observed the frequency of marriage between Puerto Ricans of different race—white, mulatto, and Negro—in six selected parishes in New York City. On the basis of these and Berle's data on racial intermarriage, he concluded that "the widespread acceptance of marriage of people of noticeably different color is continuing in the New York situation and there is no reason, as of the present moment, to expect it to stop."[31] Seda gathered data by means of participant observation in three New York City Puerto Rican neighbor-

[26]Senior and Watkins, "Toward a Balance Sheet," p. 793.

[27]Senior and Watkins, "Toward a Balance Sheet," p. 794.

[28]Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City,* Cambridge: The M.I.T. and Harvard University Press, 1963, p. 136.

[29]Glazer and Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot,* p. 136.

[30]Senior and Watkins, "Toward a Balance Sheet," p 791.

[31]Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, Reprint of "Attitudes of Puerto Ricans Toward Color," *The American Catholic Sociological Review, 20 (Fall 1959),* p. 13.

hoods to study problems of racial and ethnic identity of white, mulatto, and Negro Puerto Ricans during the period 1953–1956. He recognized the "latent functions of conflicting racial identities which the impact of American culture creates among Puerto Ricans."[32]

The research of Nathan Kantrowitz, whose study of second generation mobility we have already noted, will provide considerable amounts of data, largely demographic, on New York Puerto Ricans. A demographic study, which focuses on Negro and Puerto Rican segregation in the New York metropolis and has important implications for social policy, consists of three major parts: 1, a geographical study of the differential migration which has resulted in minority communities; 2, a geographical study of their land use; and, 3, an ecological study of neighborhood segregation and change by census tract. One by-product of the project has been the publication of reference books, the *Social Statistics for Metropolitan New York* series. Volume 2 of the series culls all 1960 census data for which comparisons could be made for Puerto Ricans, non-whites and white non-Puerto Ricans in New York and northeastern New Jersey cities and counties of 50,000 or more.

The combined research of Mobilization for Youth and the Columbia University School of Social Work, directed by Richard A. Cloward, has resulted in some studies with considerable data on Puerto Ricans mostly in one New York City neighborhood, although Puerto Ricans are not the focus of these works. Four of these studies have drawn on data from adult and adolescent surveys of a section of the Lower East Side in 1961. Puerto Ricans comprised 26 percent of the adults and approximately one-third of the youngsters between 10 and 19 years of age in a random sample of 988 households from which one adult and all the youngsters in that age range were interviewed. In all of these studies, there are at least some sections in which data are presented by ethnic group. There are John Michael's work on socialization and school dropout and dissertations by Abraham Alcabes' on *Community Perception and the Use of Neighborhood Centers,* by Frank F. Furstenberg, Jr. on *Transmission of Attitudes in the Family,* and by Paul Lerman on *Issues in Subcultural Delinquency.*[33] Two other research efforts of Columbia University and Mobilization for Youth involve different sets of data from the adult and adolescent surveys. William Martin's study concerns social attitudes, housing conditions, and political orientations and activities of Puerto Rican residents of East Harlem and the Lower East Side who participated in rent strike activities during 1964 and 1965. Research conducted by John Grundy and Judith Baxter under the direction of Leonard Granick deals with work programs for out-of-school, unemployed youth. They will issue a separate report concerning the use of these services by Puerto Rican youth who comprise more than two-thirds of a sample of 1,600 youth.

There are at least two studies of Puerto Ricans outside of New York City—Donchian's of New Haven newcomers and Seigel's of Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia. The Philadelphia study, conducted in the 1950's, provides data on language and medical and religious "adjustment," as well as on leadership and occupational status and aspirations. Donchian's study reports migration patterns, housing conditions, occupation and income, *etc.* (It is cited in the bibliography that follows Senior and Watkins' article, "Toward a Balance Sheet of Puerto Rican Migration," but is out of print and virtually unavailable.)

[32]E. Seda Bonilla, "Social Structure and Race Relations," *Social Forces,* 40 (December 1961), p. 147.

[33]Furstenberg's dissertation is on file at the Department of Graduate Faculties, Columbia University. Both Lerman's and Alcabes' dissertations are on file at the School of Social Work, Columbia University.

In the field of education, up-to-date, methodologically sound, and substantial research is, on the whole, lacking. A very recent bibliography compiled by Frank Cordasco and Leonard Covello on Puerto Rican children in mainland schools has nearly 350 entries, approximately 50 of which are unpublished. Among the latter are a collection of papers of Covello (for nearly 30 years Principal of Benjamin Franklin High School in Spanish Harlem) which is in the process of being edited. One looks in vain among the listings of this bibliography, many of which are short reports of unevaluated projects and newspaper accounts, for recent "studies."

The Puerto Rican Study: 1953–1957 of the New York City Board of Education, conducted mainly in 32 schools of high Puerto Rican concentration, has already been noted in another context. It contains data on socioeducational adjustment and relations between parents and the school system, as well as information more specifically related to scholastic achievement and English language acquisition. Responsible for numerous curricular innovations and procedures for recording data on Puerto Rican and other migrant and immigrant pupils, it covers the period 1953–1957 and has never been followed up with a report of the efficacy of the practices it instituted or a later assessment of the achievement and adjustment of Puerto Rican pupils.

There have been a few studies of specialized aspects of the learning behavior of Puerto Rican children. For example, there is the well-known article published in 1950 by Anastasi and de Jesús on "Language Development and Nonverbal IQ of Puerto Rican Preschool Children in New York City." Very recently, James Fennessey analyzed data on New York City Puerto Rican pupils from the national survey, *Equality of Educational Opportunity,* conducted by Coleman, *et. al.* The purpose of his work was to determine the relationship between language spoken in the home and other aspects of ethnic background and what differences are present at several grade levels in vocabulary test scores of Puerto Rican children from contrasting home language backgrounds.

A recent paper by Stella Chess, *et al.,* "Social Class and Child-Rearing Practices," reports some initial findings of a longitudinal study (conducted in the Department of Psychiatry of the New York University Medical Center) on *Retardation in Intellectual Development of Lower-Class Puerto Rican Children in New York City.*[34] There were two samples of three-year-olds, both from stable families, one with highly educated native-born middle- and upper middle-class parents and the other with Puerto Rican unskilled or semiskilled working class parents. The children were tested in order to determine whether there were differential responses to demands for cognitive performance and, if so, their relationship to child rearing practices of the two groups.

The work of the New York University Medical Center research team is characterized by an important recognition that differential functioning in disadvantaged children does not necessarily derive from parental rejection or indicate deficiency in the children, although such acquired patterns of behavior may be a disadvantage in a task-oriented society. The goals of the ongoing research project are to identify: 1, those experimentally determined patterns of behavior and intellectual functioning of a population of lower-class Puerto Rican children in New York City which, given curcent educational practice, are inconsistent with optimal learning; 2, the specific child care practices which produce such patterns in the children; and, 3, the favorable factors in the children's environment which can be utilized in

[34]Stella Chess, *et al.,* "Social Class and Child-Rearing Practices, "1967 (unpublished). Findings discussed in this paper are reported in detail in a monograph now in press. M. E. Hertzig, *Class and Ethnic Differences in the Response of Preschool Children to Cognitive Demands,* Chicago: Child Development Monograph.

programs to prevent or remedy impairments in learning efficiency.[35]

Two other studies, both underway at the Ferkauf Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Yeshiva University, will provide data relevant to the education and language behavior of Puerto Ricans. Vera John and Vivian Horner head an interdisciplinary team which will survey the current status of bilingual education of young children in order to develop new models for bilingual early learning programs. New York Puerto Ricans are one of the three groups upon which the research is focused. A study directed by Joshua A. Fishman seeks to measure and describe relatively stable and widespread intragroup bilingualism. Data, which have been gathered and are in the process of analysis and interpretation, pertain to the linguistic behavior and attitudinal repertoires of a sample of geographically dispersed and geographically focused (living on the same city block) middle-class Puerto Ricans in New York City.

Conclusions

An examination of the various types of social science materials potentially relevant to Puerto Ricans on the mainland of the United States reveals that our knowledge of this group of recent newcomers is somewhat limited. Demographic data on postwar migration, itself poorly circulated and for some years unavailable, indicate the scrutiny with which island studies must be used. Some of the sociological and anthropological materials may be applicable to the pre-migration experiences of *some* of the migrants. *All* of these materials should be used with recognition of the rapid socioeconomic and cultural changes in Puerto Rico, the persisting cultural heterogeneity of the Puerto Rican people, and the lack of consensus among serious students of the island on important social issues. Furthermore, limited knowledge of the motivations for migration of various groups of the Puerto Rican newcomers calls attention to the need to ascertain the cultural allegiance of the migrant before assuming that studies which match his background actually approximate his values and behavior.

Lacking data that would establish definite similarities between the characteristics and experiences of European immigrants and Puerto Rican migrants, we must be wary of making sweeping use of the historical, anthropological, and sociological literature describing earlier groups. Particularly insufficient are data dealing with comparable stages of contact with American society for Puerto Ricans and their antecedents. What information we do have, particularly regarding the different economic conditions under which they have struggled, would suggest that findings from studies of former immigrants must be carefully qualified, if they are used at all.

While a reasonable amount of attention has been given to the study of the migrant group itself, both in New York and in the other cities to which they are going, our knowledge is limited by the relative newness of the migration, by the fluidity of the community itself (largely as a result of the substantial return migration), by the lack of studies which have dealt with a representative sample of the entire Puerto Rican mainland group, and probably by an overriding interest in the Negro among socially disadvantaged groups. One anticipates that the studies in process to which we have alluded will help to fill some of the gaps in our knowledge and offer some guidelines upon which more comprehensive and current research can be based.

[35]Alexander Thomas, *Retardation in Intellectual Development of Lower-Class Puerto Rican Children in New York City*, New York: Department of Psychiatry, New York University Medical Center, December 1967.

LA VIDA

(Continued from page 1)

as a piece of research, that prompt us to review it here. It is also hoped that a discussion of its methodology will emphasize the scrutiny with which all background materials must be read and interpreted.

La Vida, published late in 1966, is not only the first full-length portrait of a Puerto Rican urban slum family but also the only intensive study of persons both on the island and after their move to the mainland—and, in some instances, after their return to Puerto Rico. All of the five major subjects in *La Vida* (Fernanda Fuentes and her four children by Cristóbal Ríos) either migrated to or visited the mainland. Thus, *La Vida* would appear to fulfill some criteria of relevance to contemporary Puerto Rican migrants.

> **. . . *La Vida* is one more brilliant demonstration of the validity and profundity of the method Lewis has pioneered: the meticulous description, and tape-recorded self-depiction, of the daily life of a single yet archetypical family of the poor.** (Michael Harrington, *The New York Times Book Review*, November 20, 1966.)

There is no question that *La Vida* tells us much about the life of one Puerto Rican lower income family in New York and San Juan. Not only has Lewis refined his technique of the tape-recorded biography, which provided us with his vivid Mexican lives,[2] but he has also given us many perspectives other than that of the members of a nuclear family. In *La Vida*, we hear from several of the spouses of Fernanda and her children, Fernanda's aunt, her children's stepmother, a grandchild, and a step grandchild (an hija de crianza or foster child of Felicita Ríos), and close family friends—sixteen persons in all. In addition, Lewis has combined these multiple biographies with "observed typical days."

> **The biographies provide a subjective view of each of the characters, whereas the days give us a more objective account of their actual behavior. The two types of data supplement each other and set up a counterpoint which makes for a more balanced picture.**[3]

The major question, then, is not whether Lewis provides us with much information about the life of the Ríos family but whether the Ríos family members are typical of other San Juan slum dwellers or of San Juan slum dwellers who come to the mainland of the United States. They cannot be typical of the present migrant group, nearly two-thirds of whom come from rural areas. (In *La Vida*, only Fernanda's aunt and three of her spouses came from rural areas before moving on to San Juan and, subsequently, to New York.)

On the one hand, Lewis tells us that the Ríos are only representative of persons whom he characterizes as living in the culture or, more correctly, subculture of poverty. Further, he maintains that *La Vida* deals with only one segment of the Puerto Rican population and that the data should not be generalized to Puerto Rican society as a whole. On the other hand, he appears to make more elaborate claims:

> **The intensive study of the life of even a single extended family by the methods used in this volume tells us some-**

[2]See Oscar Lewis, *Five Families: Mexican Case Studies in the Culture of Poverty*, New York: Basic Books, 1959; *The Children of Sanchez*, New York: Random House, 1961; and *Pedro Martínez*, New York: Random House, 1964.

[3]Oscar Lewis, *La Vida: A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty—San Juan and New York*, New York: Random House, 1966, p. XXV.

thing about individuals, about family life, about lower-class life as a whole, and about the history and culture of the larger society in which these people live. It may also reflect something of national character, although this would be difficult to prove.[4]

As Nathan Glazer has observed in his review of *La Vida*, it is Lewis' "ambiguity" on the "crucial question" of the Ríos' representativeness that is "the most serious flaw of this book."[5]

The difficulty in determining the relationship of the Ríos to other low income Puerto Rican families is that Lewis compares them to other families in his sample and in the fictionalized slum La Esmeralda but fails to establish the relationship of his sample to San Juan and New York Puerto Ricans. The comparisons are frequently between the Ríos and "other households we studied," whom they are said to approximate in important characteristics. Yet, he tells us that they deviate even from his sample in several respects. The mean number of years of schooling completed by persons in the New York sample[6] was 6.5 years, whereas that of the Ríos family members in New York was 3.4. On the other hand, the educational level of the Ríos family in San Juan was slightly higher than the island sample group—4.2 vis-à-vis 3.6. The greater schooling of New York than of island sample families is consistent with the pattern of migrants' educational attainments which have consistently exceeded island levels. And the Ríos, whose migrant members were less well educated than the family as a whole, are atypical in this respect.

Another respect in which the Ríos deviate from the sample is in their involvement in prostitution. Lewis minimizes the extent to which the practice of prostitution among three of the four principal female subjects differs from its occurrence in 33 percent of the sample families in La Esmeralda. The latter figure is a sizable minority but still a minority. More important, "an unusually large number of women in La Esmeralda, compared to other San Juan slums, worked as prostitutes in San Juan, catering to the longshoremen and to visiting sailors and soldiers."[7] One is led, therefore, to question whether the Ríos family is typical of families in the sample and in the slum where they lived, which, in regard to prostitution, is unlike the three other San Juan slums studied by Lewis.

Of his San Juan sample, Lewis states that he and his associates collected data on "one-hundred families in Greater San Juan selected from slums which represented significant ecological, racial, socio-economic, and religious variables."[8] But he does not further elaborate this description, except in pointing out that "the principle criteria in the selection of families were low income, relatives in New York, and a willingness to cooperate in the study."[9] Of their selection, he states only that "we located the poorest families with the help of social workers who introduced us to their local barrio comisarios," a liaison officer between the city administration, the local political leaders, and the people of the barrio.[10]

In describing the 32 families in La Esmeralda which were selected for study, Lewis does not specify the criteria for selecting that particular slum, whose atypicality has been noted above, or the 32 families in it. In La Esmeralda, he agreed to study 10 low income, multi-problem families which had been carefully selected from the rolls of social agencies by Dr. Rosa C. Marín of the School of Social Work, University of Puerto Rico, for her Family-Centered Treatment, Research and Demonstration Project. By coincidence, Cruz Ríos, Fernanda's youngest daughter, and her children were in both the Marín sample, consisting by definition of multi-problem families, and in Lewis' La Esmeralda sample. One is inclined to assume that if the Ríos are representative of the sample, the sample is of multi-problem families.

The relationship between multi-problem families and those who live in the subculture of poverty is not clear. Lewis does, however, concede that "the frequency distribution of this style of life cannot be determined until we have many comparable studies from other slums in Puerto Rico and elsewhere."[11] While Lewis in his attitudes toward families whom social workers would classify as multi-problem is free of a judgmental approach—"I am impressed by the strength in this family . . . by their fortitude, vitality, resilience and ability to cope with problems which would paralyze many middle-class individuals . . ."—he, nonetheless, admits the "presence of considerable pathology."[12] How typical the extent of their pathology is of the sample or of other slum dwellers is not known.

Casting loose from the data, he (Lewis) **expounds an unconvincing theory of the subculture of poverty . . . The definition is . . . circular. The kinds of poor people who act as the Ríos do belong to the subculture of poverty which explains why the Ríos act as they do . . . Why do the other 80 per cent of the American poor not fall within the same pattern?** (Oscar Handlin, *Atlantic Monthly*, December 1966.)

It is particularly unfortunate that Lewis failed to clarify the representativeness of the sample from which the Ríos family was drawn (itself more disadvantaged and problematic, in certain respects, than parts of the sample), in view of the extent to which their behavior appears to deviate from nearly all descriptions of lower-class Puerto Rican family life. Lewis notes "the failure of the women in the Ríos family to accept the traditionally submissive role of women in Puerto Rican society."[13] While one would question an allusion to "the" role of women in view of the heterogeneity of cultural patterns in Puerto Rico, the behavior of the Ríos–Fuentes women appears to deviate even from the matrifocal patterns in some subcultures of Puerto Rican society. It is only among the schizophrenic wives in the Hollingshead and Rogler study (*Trapped Families and Schizophrenia*, 1965) of 20 well (neither spouse psychotic) and 20 schizophrenic (one or both partners schizophrenic) couples in San Juan slums that one finds comparable ambivalence about their roles as wives and mothers.

The prevailing pattern of authority among well families in the Hollingshead and Rogler study was that of male dominance, while in husband-schizophrenic families, it was the wife who controlled. In the families where a schizophrenic wife was married to either a well or schizophrenic husband, neither was clearly dominant. It is not so much

[4]Lewis, *La Vida*, p. XV.

[5]Nathan Glazer, "One Kind of Life," *Commentary*, 93 (February 1967), p. 84.

[6]Of the New York sample, Lewis states, "On the New York side, we located and studied fifty families related to families in our Puerto Rican sample." Lewis, *La Vida*, p. XXXVII.

[7]Lewis, *La Vida*, pp. XXXIV-XXXV.

[8]Lewis, *La Vida*, p. XVIII.

[9]Lewis, *La Vida*, p. XIX.

[10]Lewis, *La Vida*, p. XIX.

[11]Lewis, *La Vida*, p. XXV.

[12]Lewis, *La Vida*, p. XXIX.

[13]Lewis, *La Vida*, p. XXVII.

the matrifocality of the Ríos—although it is atypical—which appears deviant but the instability of these women, their vacillating acceptance of maternal and child rearing responsibilities. The practice of serial monogamy (18 husbands for four Ríos women) is not inconsistent with matrifocality, but the frequency of the latter pattern in Puerto Rican slums is not clear. The 40 study families of Hollingshead and Rogler were comparable to a probability sample of 104 low income San Juan slum families, and the study group, incidentally, had educational levels similar to those of the Ríos and their spouses. However, neither serial monogamy nor matrifocality prevailed among these families. None of the women in the study groups in which spouses were between 20 and 39 years of age (Fernanda and her children ranged in age from 17 to 40) had more than two marriages. Lewis states that matrifocality is a common occurrence in the culture of poverty, but, once again, the frequency of that style among urban slum dwellers in Puerto Rico and elsewhere is not known, although other data suggest that it is the pattern of the minority.

. . . is he indeed describing Puerto Ricans, in San Juan and New York, or is he describing exceptional people, leading exceptional lives, who resemble their fellow Puerto Ricans only in limited ways? (Nathan Glazer, *Commentary*, February 1967.)

The portrait of life in *La Vida*, which may tell us more about "the life" than "life," does not appear to have significance for an understanding of the majority of Puerto Rican slum dwellers—much less all Puerto Rican families—or for most Puerto Rican migrants to the mainland. That it deals with the urban slum dweller at a time when nearly two-thirds of the migrants come from rural areas makes it inapplicable to the majority of mainland Puerto Ricans. Whether it applies to the one-third from urban areas is hard to ascertain from what Lewis tells us. We do know that the Ríos fail to conform to Lewis' New York sample in regard to education and rural residence prior to residence in San Juan. But Lewis never mentions the comparability of his New York sample, the 50 families who are relatives of families in the San Juan sample, to New York Puerto Ricans as a group.

It would be unfair to criticize Lewis for not dealing with rural migrants or for not selecting families representative of mainland Puerto Ricans. His interests lie with urban poverty and the subculture of poverty—not primarily with migration. And it is important, particularly for clinical personnel, to have knowledge of the behavior of multi-problem families providing that we do not miscontrue their representativeness. What does seem unfortunate is his ambiguity, his lack of unequivocal disclaimers in regard to the culture of impoverished Puerto Ricans in San Juan or New York. Also unfortunate is his choice of a title for this book—it tends to make rather universal claims for the work. This lack of modesty is particularly regrettable because the behavior of the Ríos family, regardless of whether Lewis views it within the context of the culture of poverty, appears prurient, immoral, and notorious to many middle-class American readers who have made *La Vida* a best seller. Moreover, professional educators, social workers, and physicians are neither immune to judgmental attitudes toward the Ríos family itself nor resistant to generalizations based upon what is probably their atypical behavior. Thus, the Puerto Rican community, burdened with its heavy toll of poverty, must also bear the load of Lewis' heavy tome.

A Review

Down These Mean Streets

Down These Mean Streets is a significant human document. It tells it "like it is" in the experience of one colored Puerto Rican boy growing up in Spanish Harlem. In the vivid and rough but colorful language of the streets, with remarkable descriptive power and the ability to convey emotion and sentiment, with a detailed account of experiences more realistic than anything in *La Vida*, Piri Thomas opens a window through which the outside world can get a glimpse of the tortured life of a teenage subculture which is rarely visible any other way.

Thomas was born in New York City in 1928. The book is the account of his life in a strong, stable, upwardly mobile Puerto Rican family; his involvement in a teenage street culture which led him through violence, sex, thievery, and drugs; his terrible struggle with the problem of identity based upon the problem of his dark color; his effort to find decent work despite discrimination; his term in jail for attempted armed robbery; his growing awareness of himself and of the value of his life; and his return to a more creative, healthy existence. Apart from the remarkable human testament which it represents, what makes this book significant?

It locates the problem where the problem really is—not in the Puerto Rican people, the Puerto Rican background, or the Puerto Rican family, but in the streets of New York City. Thomas was not raised in a "culture of poverty" family. Even according to middle-class norms it was a good family. But when Thomas hit the streets, the family lost almost all power to cope with the impact of the peer group. This alienation of youth from adults—their creation of a world of their own with its own values, norms, expectations, rewards, and prestige symbols—is a central factor in problems of education, employment, and delinquency. Much more should be known about it. Piri Thomas tells us plenty. The irrelevance of the school to the whole process and its inability to deal with it are distressing.

The book also eloquently documents the problem of color as it affects a colored Puerto Rican. Thomas was tormented in the hope that, because he was a Puerto Rican, his experience would be different from that of American Negroes in a white man's world. It was not. Through personal anguish, he fought his way back to a self-awareness and a self-acceptance that led to a life dedicated to serving others.

A careful reading of *Down These Mean Streets* will certainly bring understanding about the often strange behavior of teenagers in the city streets. Most of all, it should excite compassion and lead to enlightened efforts to correct the conditions in which potentially rich lives like Piri Thomas' almost destroy themselves.

Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, Ph.D.

PIRI THOMAS, *Down These Mean Streets*, New York: Knopf, 1967.

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A Bibliography on the Puerto Rican Population and Selected Background Studies

The bibliography that follows is presented in four sections. Section I consists of Island background materials; Section II deals with Puerto Rican migrants on the mainland of the United States; Section III includes four bibliographies with extensive references on the general Puerto Rican population; and Section IV contains a list of reviews of *La Vida*. LEWIS, OSCAR. **La vida: a Puerto Rican family in the culture of poverty—San Juan and New York.** New York: Random House, 1966. 669p.

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Island Background

BOURNE, DOROTHY D.; and BOURNE, JAMES R. **Thirty years of change in Puerto Rico: a case study of ten selected rural areas.** New York: Praeger, 1966. 411p. **C** UD 05026
Assesses the changes that have taken place in 10 rural communities as a result of programs planned and executed by the Puerto Rican government. The areas were first studied in 1932. Data were gathered by means of extensive interviewing in the community, and some observation was done by people involved in the earlier study.

BRAMELD, THEODORE. **The remaking of a culture: life and education in Puerto Rico.** New York: Harper, 1959. **C**
Attempts to describe, interpret, and understand the relationship between Puerto Rican culture and education in order to provide ways of improving and clarifying the educational philosophy and program in Puerto Rico. Brameld believes, in contrast to some other observers, that there is a unified Puerto Rican culture. The sample used consisted of people from two rural subcultures, one urban subculture, and national leaders.

GORDON, MAXINE W. **Cultural aspects of Puerto Rico's race problem.** American Sociological Review, 15:382-92, June 1950.
A study of the way in which the Puerto Rican cultural heritage has affected racial prejudice. It looks at the history of race relations, attitudes toward intermarriage, Puerto Rican folklore, and other cultural patterns.

LANDY, DAVID. **Tropical childhood: cultural transmission and learning in a rural Puerto Rican village.** Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959. 291p. **C**
Selected for intensive study were 18 families considered representative of the lower-class, cane-dependent population, and living in the village of Valle Caña. The author discusses family composition, living conditions, health, religion, income, education, traditional attitudes toward sex, courtship, and child bearing, and compares child rearing practices and child behavior in the Valle Caña sample with a New England upper–lower and upper–middle class sample.

LEWIS, OSCAR. **La vida: a Puerto Rican family in the culture of poverty—San Juan and New York.** New York: Random House, 1966. 669p. **C** UD 02948
This anthropological study begins with a long introduction which describes Lewis' methods, the setting, and the family involved in the study. A discussion of the theory of the "culture of poverty" is included. The rest of the book is the story of a Puerto Rican family, as told by the members of the nuclear family and some of their relatives and friends.

MINTZ, SIDNEY W. **Puerto Rico: an essay in the definition of a national culture.** In: Status of Puerto Rico: selected background studies, for the United States—Puerto Rico Commission on the Status of Puerto Rico. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966. p. 339-34. **C** (In process.)
An essay attempting to clarify and bring unity to the writings of sociologists and anthropologists on the nature of Puerto Rican culture. Part I discusses "culture as a term of reference"; Part II, "Puerto Rico in the Caribbean setting"; and Part III, "some views of Puerto Rican culture." Some of the topics included in the appendices are community studies, race relations studies, Puerto Rican family structure and attitudes, national culture, and studies of change.

MINTZ, SIDNEY W. **Worker in the cane: a Puerto Rican life history.** New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960. 288p.
The life story of a cane worker in a small Puerto Rican village, Santa Isabel. The book consists of reports of tape-recorded interviews with the cane worker and background and interpretative materials presented by the author.

PUERTO RICO. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR. MIGRATION DIVISION. NEW YORK CITY OFFICE. **A summary in facts and figures, 1964–1965: progress in Puerto Rico—Puerto Rican migration** 1966. 22p. **X** UD 05023
Contains statistics from a variety of sources on the island of Puerto Rico and the migration of Puerto Ricans to the mainland of the United States. The latter includes net migration figures for all postwar years, Puerto Rican populations by states and selected cities, and data specifically related to the size of the Puerto Rican population in New York City.

ROBERTS, LYDIA J.; and STEFANI, ROSA L. **Patterns of living in Puerto Rican families.** Río Piedras: University of Puerto Rico, 1949. 411p.
An attempt to study Puerto Rican family living at all socio-economic levels and "formulate the basic needs of Puerto Rican families." The sample consisted of 1,000 families which represented all geographic sections. Data were gathered on housing, health, and diet and presented by income and area of residence.

ROGLER, LLOYD H.; and HOLLINGSHEAD, AUGUST B. **Trapped: families and schizophrenia.** New York: John Wiley, 1965. 436p. **C**
A report on an exploratory study of the effect of schizophrenia on the performance of social roles. The sample consisted of 40 couples, 20 in which either or both spouses were schizophrenic and 20 in which neither was psychotic. Important data on family patterns in urban slums of San Juan are included.

SEDA BONILLA, E. **Social structure and race relations.** Social Forces, 40:141-48, December 1961.
A report on the findings of a study conducted under the auspices of the Social Science Research Center of the University of Puerto Rico which attempts to look at the importance of race in the social structures of Latin America and the United States. Participant observation was done in three Puerto Rican neighborhoods in New York City between 1953–1956.

STEWARD, JULIAN; AND OTHERS. **The people of Puerto Rico.** Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956. 540p. **C** UD 00417
The first section of this cultural-historical study attempts to analyze and explain contemporary Puerto Rican culture in terms of the historical changes that have occurred. A major portion is devoted to the study of lower-class rural subcultures by Steward's assistants. The subcultures are: "Tabara—subcultures of a tobacco and mixed crops municipality," by Robert A. Manners; "San Jose—subcultures of a 'traditional' coffee municipality," by Eric R. Wolf; "Nocora—the subculture of workers on a government owned sugar plantation," by Elena Padilla Seda; and "Cánamelar—the subculture of a rural sugar plantation proletariat," by Sidney W. Mintz. Also included is a section on "The Prominent Families of Puerto Rico," by Raymond L. Scheele.

STYCOS, J. MAYONE. **Family and fertility in Puerto Rico: a study of the lower income group.** New York: Columbia University Press, 1955, 332p.
Data were gathered from 72 families; 24 from three rural areas, 24 from an urban area, and 24 from three small towns. The topics discussed are: differential status ideologies of the sexes, child rearing practices, courtship, early marriage and consensual union, marital relations, attitudes toward fertility, and birth control practices.

TUMIN, MELVIN; and FELDMAN, ARNOLD S. **Social class and social change in Puerto Rico.** Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961. 549p. **C** UD 02853
The class structure of Puerto Rico is analyzed to determine relationships between class characteristics, class relationships, and social change. Data were gathered by means of a field study utilizing an island-wide sample of 1,000 "heads-of-households" from all class groups.

WOLF, KATHLEEN L. **Growing up and its price in three Puerto Rican subcultures.** Psychiatry, 15:401-33, November 1953.
A detailed description of the contrasting patterns of child rearing in three different Puerto Rican subcultures on the island of Puerto Rico: 1, lower-class sugar cane workers; 2, lower-class tobacco workers, and, 3, middle-class urbanites. The author attempts to show that the uniform cultural tradition of Puerto Rico does not produce a uniform Puerto Rican personality type.

Puerto Rican Migrants on the Mainland

ANASTASI, ANNE; and DEJESÚS, CRUZ. **Language development and nonverbal I.Q. of Puerto Rican preschool children in New York City.** The Journal of Social Psychology, 45:357-66, July 1953.
A study in which the performance of 50 five-year-old Puerto Rican children, on tests to measure language development and nonverbal I.Q., is compared with the performance of 50 white and 50 Negro five-year-old children tested by the same procedure.

BERLE, BEATRICE B. **80 Puerto Rican families in New York City.** New York: Columbia University Press, 1958. 331p. **C**
A study of health and related problems of 80 Puerto Rican families living in a New York City slum. The 80 families were chosen from a group of families with sickness. A few of the topics are migration, family organization, housing, language and communication, and welfare.

CHESS, STELLA; AND OTHERS. **Social class and child-rearing practices.** 1967, unpublished. 12p. (Paper prepared for the American Psychological Association Divisional Meeting, November 17, 1967.) (Detailed findings available in Child Development Monographs, No. 1, 1968 series.) **E** (In process.) UD 05028
A study of the effect of child rearing practices on the performance of the child in a task-oriented society. The sample consisted of 136 children of native born middle- and upper middle-class parents and 95 children of Puerto Rican unskilled and semi-skilled working class parents.

ELINSON, JACK; HABERMAN, PAUL W.; and GELL, CYRILLE. **Ethnic and educational data on adults in New York City: 1963–1964.** New York: School of Public Health and Administrative Medicine, Columbia University, 1967. 226p.
Reports on a sample survey of 2,118 adults interviewed in 1963-1964 to determine social categories of New York City adults by ethnicity. The characteristics studied are educational and occupational mobility, family income, political preference, voting frequency, minority group feeling, and cultural participation. Puerto Ricans are one of the eight ethnic groups to whom data are given.

FENNESSEY, JAMES. **An exploratory study of non-English speaking homes and academic performance.** Baltimore: Research and Development Center for the Study of Social Organization of Schools and the Learning Process, Johns Hopkins University, 1967. 41p. **E** (In process.) UD 03788
A report that uses data gathered in a national survey, **Equality of Educational Opportunity** *(the Coleman Report). It discusses Puerto Rican public school pupils in New York City in terms of the relationship between language spoken in the home and other aspects of ethnic background and the differences present at several grade levels in vocabulary test scores of Puerto Rican children from contrasting home language backgrounds.*

FITZPATRICK, JOSEPH P. **Attitudes of Puerto Ricans toward color.** The American Catholic Sociological Review, 20:219-33, Fall 1959. **X** UD 04283
Probes the question of the extent to which traditional racial intermingling and intermarriage among Puerto Ricans will affect racial intermingling in New York or the extent to which the negative attitudes of New Yorkers will racially split the Puerto Rican migrants. Conclusions were based upon the frequencies of racial intermarriage of Puerto Ricans in six parishes in New York City and among the 80 families studied by Berle.

FITZPATRICK, JOSEPH P. **Intermarriage of Puerto Ricans in New York City.** American Journal of Sociology, 71:395-406, January 1966.
This study seeks to determine the rate of assimilation among Puerto Ricans in New York City by comparing their rate of outgroup marriage with that of immigrants between 1908 and 1912.

GLAZER, NATHAN; and MOYNIHAN, DANIEL P. **The Puerto Ricans.** In: Beyond the melting pot: the Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City, by Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan. Cambridge: M.I.T. and Harvard University Press, 1963. p.86-136. **C** UD 01465
Puerto Ricans in New York City are discussed in terms of who migrates to the United States; their relationship to the island of Puerto Rico; business, professional, labor opportunities, and average earnings in New York; and the effect of migration on the culture of the migrants. The Puerto Ricans are compared and contrasted with immigrant groups.

HANDLIN, OSCAR. **The newcomers—Negroes and Puerto Ricans in a changing metropolis.** Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959. 171p. **C** UD 00134
A short, but detailed, history of the entrance of different immigrant groups into New York City is presented. The focus of the work is on the migration to the city in the last quarter century of Negroes and Puerto Ricans, about whom data were gathered through census reports and interviews.

KANTROWITZ, NATHAN. **Social mobility of Puerto Ricans in New York, 1950–1960.** 1967, unpublished. 33p. (Author's affiliation: Columbia University School of Social Work.) **X** UD 05029
An examination of the U.S. census data for the New York Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area to determine the mobility of a group of second generation Puerto Ricans by looking at their occupational, educational, and income shifts. The subjects were between the ages of 15 to 24 in 1950 and 25 to 34 in 1960.

KANTROWITZ, NATHAN; and PAPPENFORT, DONNELL M. **1960 fact book for the New York–Northeastern New Jersey standard consolidated area; the nonwhite, Puerto Rican, and white non-Puerto Rican populations: selected characteristics for counties and cities of 50,000 or more.** New York: Columbia University, 1966. 201p. (Social Statistics for Metropolitan New York, Monograph No. 2.)
Contains all 1960 U.S. Bureau of the Census statistics, which can be presented by the following categories: non-white, Puerto Rican, and white non-Puerto Rican, in the New York–Northeastern New Jersey Standard Consolidated Area. The data for social characteristics are tabulated separately for every Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) and for every county and city of 50,000 or more, whether or not it is the central city for the SMSA.

LEWIS, OSCAR. **La vida: a Puerto Rican family in the culture of poverty—San Juan and New York.** New York: Random House, 1966. 669p. **C** UD 02948
See annotation in Section I, Island Background.

MILLS, C. WRIGHT; SENIOR, CLARENCE; and GOLDSEN, ROSE. **The Puerto Rican journey: New York's newest migrants.** New York: Harper, 1950. 238p.
A report of a 1948 Columbia University study of migration of Puerto Ricans to New York City. The statistics pertain only to an early group of Puerto Rican migrants, but there are important concepts particularly concerning the motivation of Puerto Ricans to migrate and their occupational and educational aspirations. The Puerto Ricans' problems and adjustments are compared with those of immigrant groups.

MORRISON, J. CAYCE. **The Puerto Rican study: 1953–1957.** New York: Board of Education, 1958. 265p. **C** UD 01334
Reports on a four year study of the impact of Puerto Rican migration on the public schools of New York City and the effect of the schools on the Puerto Rican children and their parents. It addresses itself to the problems of teaching English as a second language to the Puerto Rican pupils, the "socioeconomic" adjustment of Puerto Rican children and their parents to the community, and discerning who the Puerto Rican pupils are in the New York City schools. The principal sample consisted of 32 schools in New York City with large Puerto Rican concentrations.

PADILLA, ELENA. **Up from Puerto Rico.** New York: Columbia University Press, 1958. 316p. **C**
A cultural anthropological study of Puerto Rican migrants in New York City conducted in a small section of Manhattan in the mid-1950's. It is based upon observations of the community and intensive interviews with 48 Puerto Rican family heads. A few of the topics included are family and kinship, Hispaños and the larger society, and migrants—transients and settlers.

PUERTO RICAN FORUM, INC., NEW YORK CITY. **The Puerto Rican community development project: a proposal for a self-help project to develop the community by strengthening the family, opening opportunities for youth and making full use of education.** 1964. 145p. **C** UD 04007
Contains "supporting data for an outline of program, a design for needed studies, and an estimate of the cost of instituting a self-help project." Statistics on occupation, income, housing, health, and education are presented. The statistics were obtained from several sources.

Puerto Rican population of New York City. New York: Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, 1954. 61p. (A series of papers delivered before the New York Area Chapter of the American Statistical Association, October 21, 1953.)
Consists of three papers and a discussion: "Demographic and Labor Force Characteristics of the New York City Puerto Rican Population," by A. J. Jaffe, p. 3-29; "Vital Statistics in New York City Puerto Rican Population," by Lewis Weiner, p. 30-44; "Social and Welfare Statistics on the New York Puerto Rican Population," by Sophia M. Robinson, p. 45-55; and "Discussion: A Comparison of the Occupations of 1st and 2nd Generation Puerto Ricans in the Mainland Labor Market," by Earl Raushenbush, p. 56-61.

PUERTO RICO. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR. MIGRATION DIVISION. NEW YORK CITY OFFICE. **A summary in facts and figures, 1964–1965: progress in Puerto Rico—Puerto Rican migration.** 1966. 22p. **X** UD 05023
See annotation in Section I, Island Background.

SENIOR, CLARENCE. **The Puerto Ricans: strangers—then neighbors.** Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1965. 123p. **C** UD 01078
A brief history of the building and settling of the United States is presented to give emphasis to the fact that we have always been a nation of immigrants. A variety of data on problems that confront Puerto Ricans in trying to settle in the United States is discussed. (Most of the data pertain to Puerto Ricans in New York City.)

SENIOR, CLARENCE; and WATKINS, DONALD O. **Toward a balance sheet of Puerto Rican migration.** In: Status of Puerto Rico: selected background studies, for the United States—Puerto Rico Commission on the Status of Puerto Rico. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966. p.689-795. **C** (In process.) UD 04887
The balance sheet is drawn in terms of the advantages of migration to the migrants, to the society from which they came, and to the receiving society. It includes considerable data on early and later Puerto Rican migration.

SIEGEL, ARTHUR I. **The social adjustment of Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia.** Journal of Social Psychology, 46:99-110, August 1957.
A paper summarizing the principal findings of a study of the social adjustment of Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia. Some of the topics discussed are language, medical, religious adjustment, and occupations and occupational aspirations. The sample consisted of Puerto Ricans living in major core areas of Puerto Rican settlements and non-Puerto Rican neighbors.

SEXTON, PATRICIA C. **Spanish Harlem: anatomy of poverty.** New York: Harper, 1965. 208p. **C** UD 04134
A book by a sociologist who spent almost two years observing in East Harlem. She discusses poverty, community, power structure, urban renewal, schools, religion, initiative of the community, etc.

Bibliographies

BOURNE, DOROTHY D.; and BOURNE, JAMES R. **Bibliography.** In: Thirty years of change in Puerto Rico, by Dorothy D. Bourne and James R. Bourne. New York: Praeger, 1966. p.403-10. **E** (In process.) UD 05027
A short annotated bibliography on the island of Puerto Rico. Included are items on social change, patterns of living, education, government, etc.

CORDASCO, FRANK M.; and COVELLO, LEONARD. **Studies of Puerto Rican children in American schools: a preliminary bibliography.** New York: Migration Division, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Department of Labor, 1967. 24p. **E** (In process.) UD 04886 (This bibliography may also be ordered from the Migration Division.)
A lengthy compilation of items that relate to the education and adjustment of Puerto Rican children in American mainland schools. (Not annotated.)

DOSSICK, JESSE J. **Doctoral research on Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans.** New York: New York University, 1967. 34p. **X** UD 05049
A list of approximately 350 doctoral dissertations dealing with Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans. Fifty percent of the research was done by Puerto Ricans. The schools contributing the largest number of dissertations are Columbia University and New York University.

SENIOR, CLARENCE; and WATKINS, DONALD O. **Toward a balance sheet of Puerto Rican migration: bibliography.** In: Status of Puerto Rico: selected background studies, for the United States—Puerto Rico Commission on the Status of Puerto Rico. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966. p.765-95. **E** (In process.) UD 04887
A critically annotated bibliography of selected items that have significant or extensive references to Puerto Ricans. It is divided into two parts: the first section includes articles, essays, reports, speeches, and surveys; and the second contains only references to books.

Reviews of La Vida

BENDINER, ELMER. **Outside the kingdom of the middle class.** The Nation, 204:22-23, January 2, 1967.

BURGUM, BERRY. **The sociology of Oscar Lewis.** Science and Society, 31:323-37, Summer 1967.

CORDASCO, FRANK M. **The Puerto Rican family and the anthropologist: Oscar Lewis, La vida, and the culture of poverty.** Urban Education, 3 (No. 3):32-38, 1967.

The culture of poverty. Time Magazine, 88:133, November 25, 1966.

DIAMONDSTEIN, BARBARALEE D. **Hopes and fears of all the years.** Saturday Review, 49:58-59, December 10, 1966.

FITZPATRICK, JOSEPH P. **Oscar Lewis and the Puerto Rican family.** America, 115:778-79, December 10, 1966.

GLAZER, NATHAN. **One kind of life.** Commentary, 43:83-85, February 1967.

HANDLIN, OSCAR. **The subculture of poverty.** Atlantic Monthly, 218:138-44, December 1966.

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HENTOFF, NAT. **Life near the bone.** The New Yorker, 43:154-60, March 4, 1967.

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KENISTON, KENNETH. **The drabness of poverty.** The American Scholar, 36:505-09, Summer 1967.

LARNER, SUSAN. **The new poor and the old.** Dissent, 14:235-39, March-April, 1967.

MALOFF, SAUL. **Man's fate?** Newsweek, 68:131-32, November 21, 1966.

MONSERRAT, JOSEPH. **A Puerto Rican family.** Natural History, 76:70-72, April 1967.

MOORE, BARRINGTON. **In the life.** The New York Review of Books, 8:3-4, June 15, 1967.

PRITCHETT, V. S. **Spilling the beans.** New Statesman, 74:404, September 29, 1967.

RENEK, MORRIS. **New windows on poverty.** New Republic, 155:23, December 3, 1966.

GPO 958-652

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